# UNITY

*FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION*

## The Vision of William Morris--A Briton's Way to Utopia

(On the 40th Anniversary of His Death—October 3, 1896-1936)

*By David Gittleman*

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Education and Citizenship - *Jesse H. Holmes*

The Presidential Candidates and Peace - - - - - *Philip S. Bernstein*

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## Contents


EDITORIAL—
Notes ..... 63
Jottings—J. H. H. ..... 66

ARTICLES—
The Vision of William Morris—A Briton's Way to Utopia—DAVID GITTLEMAN ..... 66
Education and Citizenship—JESSE H. HOLMES ..... 74
Selected—*Thomas Jefferson* ..... 75
*Stopford A. Brooke* ..... 78
The Presidential Candidates and Peace—PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN ..... 76

POETRY—
An Apology—*William Morris* ..... 63

THE STUDY TABLE—
Heroes of Peace—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES ..... 77

CORRESPONDENCE—
Welcome Praise—ROBERT WHITAKER ..... 78
Earl Browder and Pope Pius XI—SYDNEY STRONG ..... 78
Mary Baker Eddy—HAROLD MOLTER ..... 78

THE FIELD—
Call for a New World Conference—*World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches* ..... 62
The Obligations of American Patriotism Today—MRS. SIDNEY A. SHERMAN ..... 79
Behind the Spanish Revolt—MARGUERITE ANN STEWART. *From the Bulletin of the Foreign Policy Association* ..... 80


## The Field

*"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."*

### Call for a New World Conference

The intense and increasing gravity of the world situation, and the present failure to deal effectively with the causes of conflict between States, impel us, representatives of Christian Churches in 24 countries, assembled August 18, 1936, at Chamby sur Montreux, Switzerland, as the Management Committee of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, to place on record the following decisions:

1. A new and better beginning in world-affairs is essential. Adjustments in the structure and procedure of the League of Nations will be useful, but more is needed. A different spirit is required, a spirit which aims at effective service of the common good. We believe that the solution of the world-problem is to be sought in the Christian Faith, whence comes the power to change the motive and direction of personal and public activity.

2. A way must be found to bring under impartial survey the economic grievances and other inequities out of which the anxieties and fears of nations grow and which account in large measure for the fateful race in armaments.

We urge that the League of Nations, acting in conjunction with those States not included in its membership, should convene, after due preparation but at the earliest practicable date, a World Conference on these subjects, open to all States. Protective tariffs and financial obstacles to world-trade, inability to obtain raw materials and an outlet for excess populations, and the future administration of colonial possessions and mandated territories would necessarily be among the subjects with which such a Conference should deal. As regards the colonial problem we hold strongly that a primary consideration should be the welfare of the races who inhabit the territories concerned.

3. We recognize that a special responsibility rests on the Christian Churches in this hour. Hence we ask that the Churches urge upon their several Governments the necessity for such a World Conference, whether convened by the League of Nations or under other auspices.

(*Continued on page* 79)

# UNITY

*"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"*

Volume CXVIII MONDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1936 No. 4

### AN APOLOGY

Of heaven or hell I have no power to sing,
I cannot ease the burden of your fears,
Or make quick-coming death a little thing,
Or bring again the pleasure of past years,
Nor for my words shall ye forget your tears,
Or hope again for aught that I can say,
The idle singer of an empty day.

But rather, when, aweary of your mirth,
From full hearts still unsatisfied ye sigh,
And, feeling kindly unto all the earth,
Grudge every minute as it passes by,
Made the more mindful that the sweet days die,
Remember me a little then, I pray,
The idle singer of an empty day.

—*William Morris.*

## THE CAMPAIGN

The presidential campaign, now drawing to its close, is enormously surprising in the sense that it is enormously disappointing. We had an idea at the start that this was going to be the most ferociously exciting political battle that this country had seen since the Blaine-Cleveland fracas of 1884. We anticipated that the greatest flood of oratory would be loosed upon the electorate since the McKinley-Bryan struggle of 1896. And we believed that all records for "dirt" would be broken. But we were a terribly inaccurate prognosticator! Our "hunch" was about as far wrong as it could be. It may be, of course, that the excitement is all here, and we are too old, and thus insensitive, to feel it. But none the less our impression is strong that the trouble is not with us but with the campaign which seems to us to be the dullest, the dreariest, the deadest affair that this nation has known in a half-century. The campaign was amazingly slow in getting under way—and, as a matter of fact, is not yet moving. Will it ever move? We doubt it. What's the matter? Well, if we can guess at all, nothing can be made to seem very important when set against the background of what is going on in Europe and in Asia. In 1884 and 1896, America was its own world—here destiny was centered. But *now!*—to expect our citizens to get excited over this campaign is like expecting a crowd to go crazy over a football game in the Chicago stadium while a conflagration is destroying the city. Second, there is the influence of the radio which we don't pretend to understand but which we are certain is working stupendous changes in social psychology. Sitting quietly at home and listening all alone to your favorite candidate does not exactly stir up whirlwinds. Again, it strikes us that the Republicans have quite failed to develop an aggressive, belligerent attack on the administration. Landon is in many ways an admirable public figure, but he never was cut out to lead a popular crusade. The result has been teacups instead of howitzers on the main battle-front. Last, the Democrats have deliberately and shrewdly evaded issues, avoided combat, and thus kept things quiet. The business of the Republicans was to shell them out of the citadel; failing this, the Democrats naturally sat tight, displayed confidence, radiated charm, and did nothing. The result has been dullness raised to the *nth* power. Yet are we persuaded that, deep down, feeling for and against the President is intense, and election day will see a vast outpouring of voters.

## WORK VERSUS RELIEF

Somebody asks us, apropos a recent editorial, if we are opposed to work relief as a method of handling the unemployment problem. We are! It is immeasurably more expensive than the method of straight relief —a fact never to be forgotten in a chronic unemployment situation in a capitalistic country which some day must run out of funds! If work relief would finally end unemployment, much might be said for it, but it is now an elementary proposition that, under the present organization of society, unemployment is here to stay. Work relief must therefore some day be stopped without having accomplished anything, or else must plunge the nation into bankruptcy. But doesn't work relief maintain the morale of the unemployed, as mere relief breaks it down? Not at all! Any payment for idleness is demoralizing enough, it must be conceded, but so is work relief. If there is anything worse than setting a man to work at a deliberately created, even fantastic, job, which must be prolonged as much as possible so that the work will not suddenly end, we do not know what it is. Watch the best men loaf on a WPA job,

and then ask about demoralization! But would you simply pay out relief, *i. e.*, a "dole," to the idle week after week, and let it go at that? *Not at all!* We would adopt the English program, as follows: First, a census of the unemployed, so that we may know where we stand; second, the organization throughout the nation, in city and town, of national employment bureaus, to serve as clearing-houses for all available jobs; third, relief, or, rather, as scientifically organized, *insurance* to the unemployed so long as the government can provide no jobs through its employment bureaus, this insurance to be withdrawn the moment a job is found in any case, and either accepted or refused by the unemployed man in question; fourth, a public works program, strictly limited to housing and other works of permanent and necessary social value. This program, as maintained by England for years, is consistent, beneficent, and wise. It does the business as well as it can be done under the existing order of society. Some day we'll get a new social order and end unemployment. But, meanwhile, the above is our program.

## "THE STRANGE CASE OF MRS. EATON"

This sounds like the title of the latest detective novel, or of a movie at the neighborhood theatre. As a matter of fact, it is the title of a pamphlet published by the American Civil Liberties Union, telling the story of what can happen here. Mrs. Eaton is a woman who formerly lived in New Jersey, the wife of Mr. Eaton and the mother of their two children. In the course of divorce proceedings between Mr. and Mrs. Eaton, the judge awarded the two children to the father, a Methodist and political conservative, on the ground that the wife (and mother!) had Communistic and atheistic ideas. Extracts from testimony contained in the report of the Civil Liberties Union show that Mrs. Eaton did not testify that she was either a Communist or an atheist. She is simply a woman who has an eager mind, read radical literature, attended lectures at the Rand School and sermons at Mr. Holmes' Community Church in New York, and had no great respect for her husband's religion. As marital difficulties increased in the home, religious and political controversies evidently waxed warm—a not altogether unheard of circumstance! Finally the case came into court, and Mrs. Eaton found herself denied the custody of her children because of her non-conformity. The judge's words are worth recording as an exhibit:

> He (the father) insists that he desires them (the children) to be religiously trained in his own faith and brought up as Americans. This he has a right to do. He charges that the petitioner has not only renounced her religion but denies the existence of a Supreme Being. This she admits. She frankly states that she no longer considers herself a Christian. . . . The petitioner of course may do with herself as she will, but she is not privileged to instill into the minds of these young children, against the will of their father, these doctrines which she herself has embraced and which are looked upon with abhorrence by the vast majority of people living under the protection of our laws.

In the Gloria Vanderbilt case, it will be remembered that the court ruled that the child should be brought up in the faith of the mother. In Mrs. Eaton's case this is denied, because she is allegedly a non-Christian and not a Christian. Yet is there nothing in the Constitutions either of New Jersey or of the United States giving any judge authority to act upon religious grounds. On the contrary, these documents expressly provide for religious liberty, which means the right to dissent and deny as well as to affirm. The American Civil Liberties Union is vindicating our best ideals and basic legal rights in appealing this case to higher courts.

## ANOTHER STRANGE CASE—THAT OF MR. BUTASH

The American Civil Liberties Union gives us another case to match that of Mrs. Eaton as above described. This case has to do with a man, Paul Butash by name, who could find no employment in his own trade, that of a book-binder, and was enterprising and courageous enough to take to the road not as a tramp but as a solicitor of subscriptions for the *Literary Digest*. On a certain day in the little town of Angora, Indiana, this Mr. Butash was in the grocery store of a certain Burton Richardson, soliciting a subscription for his magazine. In the store at the time was a friend of the proprietor, Elgers Ewers. Both these local citizens were active members of the American Legion. In the course of his trade talk, Mr. Butash chanced to refer to the economic and political order of the country as a "system." Also, in exhibiting a globe offered as a free gift for a *Digest* subscription, the agent was seen to lay his finger right plump on Soviet Russia. Both facts stirred alarm in the patriotic souls of the Legionnaires, who proceeded to lay a trap for their victim. They invited him to return the following night and attend a certain meeting, to which they gathered their friends and acquaintances. At this meeting Mr. Butash was induced to say a few words on the political situation. This led to questions, which led in turn to mention of the Farmer-Labor Party—and, according to the "red" baiters, a suggestion that, if political methods didn't improve conditions, it might be necessary to resort to force. All this was, or seemed to be, *en famille,* so to speak, until the next morning, when the little magazine-agent was arrested on a charge of violating the criminal-syndicalist law of the state and thrust into prison under bail of $10,000. Later tried and convicted, Mr. Butash was sentenced to one to five years in the state's prison and is now a convict behind the bars. And we say "it can't happen here!" We wonder what Mr. Butash thinks of that assurance—and what he thinks about the necessity of changing conditions in this "land of the free," not to say "the home of the brave." The Civil Liberties Union is seeking Mr. Butash's release on a plea of unconstitutionality of the law. But this is a long court process, and meanwhile Mr. Butash is in prison.

## AND PRESIDENT HARVEY PRESENTS A STRANGE CASE, TOO

President Harvey's fame is probably not known to many of UNITY's readers. His high-sounding title means only that he is the chief executive of the Borough of Queens in Greater New York, a little local satrap in a huge metropolis. Harvey is a politician of the familiar type, who happens to be a Republican, and not a Democrat, only because his political bailiwick is Republican and not Democratic in sentiment. If he did business in Manhattan, he would be a Tammanyite along with the best—*i. e.,* the worst—of the tribe. Always eager to sensationalize his position with his constituents, Harvey usually talks—talks loud and big, and in words of one syllable. Now and again he acts—talks, too, of course, but also does something brave and heroic and patriotic, especially patriotic. Well, the campaign has been on, and political parties have been holding rallies in the public halls of Queens and other boroughs, as duly provided by the laws of the State of New York. Some weeks ago, the Communists applied for the use of a building —and the great Harvey saw his chance. No!—the public buildings of Queens could not be used by the Communists. Had these buildings been used by the Republicans, the Democrats, even the Socialists? Oh, yes! Was the Communist Party a legal party, with its place on the official ballot, along with all the rest? Oh, yes! Were Communists as citizens guaranteed by the Constitution of the State of New York and the Constitution of the United States the same rights and liberties as other citizens? Oh, yes! Yet, on the individual say-so of this one official, the Communists are outlawed. So far as Queens is concerned, they cannot function. Which means that, in the particular area of America under his control, Harvey has done the same thing that Hitler has done in Germany! *Heil, Harvey!* And yet this man contends that he is an American, and is doing this to save America. Which means that Harvey has not even the decency of Hitler to be honest in his tyranny! It is encouraging to compare with this strange case the action of the Federal Radio Commission in ordering radio stations in this country to give the same broadcasting opportunities to Earl Browder, the presidential candidate of the Communists, that are given to the candidates of other parties.

## AT LOWEST EBB THE TIDE TURNS

The Ethiopian affair, by common consent, marked the lowest ebb of the life of the League of Nations. The failure of the policy of sanctions, coupled with the complete triumph of Mussolini in his policy of conquest, seemed to point straight to the extinction of the League. Another grandiose and tomb-like palace at Geneva would match the similar structure at the Hague! The September meeting of the League Assembly seemed to be fated to mark the extinction of all lingering last hopes. This meeting must be an occasion of self-immolation! And so it would have been, had the Assembly voted to reject the credentials of the Ethiopian delegates as the price of Italy's return to Geneva. Such action would have proclaimed to all the world that "nothing succeeds like success," that "might makes right," that any bully need only to shake his sword impudently and brutally enough and the League will ko-tow. Of course, this would be suicide. Then came the sudden rebellion of the Assembly against this proposed act of cowardice and shame. First, there was the out-and-out demand that the League turn the Ethiopians away for the sake of getting Italy back—as though a peace organization did not lose everything instead of gain anything in taking back such a brigand on such terms! Next came the inevitable suggestion of compromise—the resort always of little men who have no courage to dare the right!—that the matter be referred to the World Court for settlement, and the League proceed to business. But neither surrender nor evasion found acceptance with the Assembly. Under the lead of Soviet Russia and with the cooperation of small nations which saw in the fate of Ethiopia their own destiny, the League seated the Ethiopians' delegates and therewith defied Italy by refusing to recognize her conquest. This organization is breathing the only air which can restore it to life—namely, the air of principle. In a world black with the darkness of impending doom, we hail this streak of light, and look again for the dawn of the new day.

## IS MAN DOOMED?

Oswald Spengler, the historian, has found an ally in Professor H. L. Hawkins, of England, paleontologist. Declaring in an address last month before the British Association for the Advancement of Science that the paleontologist was "not a midwife but an undertaker" (that elegant word, mortician, has evidently not reached England!), Professor Hawkins announced that man's overspecialization of his brain was dooming him to extinction. Complexity and overspecialization of all creatures, he said, were their undoing. Countless molluscs, worms, reptiles, birds and mammals have disappeared as species because of their over-ingenious adaptation to environment. Adaptation, in other words, if carried too far, leads not to survival but to destruction. It is the simple and only reasonably efficient creatures, according to Professor Hawkins, that get along best and thus live longest. In the case of man, we find a creature who is specialized to the point of miracle. The brain that devised and made the motor car and countless other marvels is simply overbalancing itself and thus bringing about inevitably its own dissolution. Developing the brain at the expense of everything else, man is destined to "a spectacular rise and an equally spectacular fall." The one is now going on, the other is in immediate prospect. Man at his best is only an "intensified animal," not at all a "half-fledged angel." Summing up his conclusions in one sweeping statement, ominously

reminiscent of Spengler, Professor Hawkins says:

> A paleontologist may be excused for looking askance at a record of the creatures like that written by one of themselves. Considered as a highly specialized animal, belonging to a highly specialized class, man is doomed. As a longtime insurance risk his evolutionary chances are not nearly as good as those of the lowly amoeba or the malaria germ. [Accepting this view] we might as well sit with folded hands in a darkened room awaiting the inevitable end or meet the crash with ribaldry and riot.

Professor Hawkins holds out only one hope to man, which lies in the fact that he is "both an idealist and a realist." If the idealist can be awakened and stirred to action—the soul, in other words, subdue the brain—it may not be too late to do something. Which brings us back to the religious message of all the ages —that only in the spirit can we be saved!

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# Jottings

Greetings! After a three months' rest from jesting and jousting, this Department resumes activity. We have no doubt that UNITY's readers have benefitted greatly from our vacation.

Our first thought, of course, is the campaign. Which reminds us of the quip of a friend—that, as the campaign proceeds, it becomes more and more apparent that the Landon machine has a lot of *Knox* in it!

But we must be non-partisan! A joke at the expense of the Republicans must be matched by one at the expense of the Democrats! So!—With such a vice-presidential candidate on the ticket with him, Roosevelt ought to *Garner* many votes.

But the Socialists should have their share of this verbal *pun*-ishment. So!—Norman Thomas heads an excellent ticket, but we fear that, even with the able support of his vice-presidential associate, he will get no half-*Nelson* on his opponents.

But the Communists must not be left out. So!—All the parties are making a straight drive for the Negro vote. The Communists, with a Negro as their vice-presidential candidate, comprise the one party which can af-*Ford* to rest confident of results.

We are perhaps too *pun*-ctilious in *pun*-ctuating our paragraphs with *pun*-gent epigrams of the above *pun*-chinello character. Fearing that our assurance may be *pun*-ctured by indignant readers, we refrain from further *pun*-ching, and promise henceforth to be *pun*-ctual each week in presenting items of *pun*-ctiform respectability.

J. H. H.

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# The Vision of William Morris—A Briton's Way to Utopia

## (On the 40th Anniversary of His Death—October 3, 1896—1936)

DAVID GITTLEMAN

*I.—The Life Career of a Poet-Craftsman.*

William Morris, the oldest son of a London broker, was born near London, on March 24, 1834. Educated at Oxford, his physical as well as mental state revealed the typical English-bred gentleman of culture. Wide reading and travel, aided by a modest fortune, which he inherited, enabled him to have some freedom of choice in the matter of selecting life's vocation. There were no petty obstacles and jealousies of poverty to sabotage or to retard the budding talents of an aspiring youth. His liberal training left little room for bigoted conformity; and his horizons were as unlimited as the skies.

In 1852 he matriculated. In 1854 he found himself on the verge of embracing Roman Catholicism, "as an escape from religious perplexities." The same year of vacillation and the year following saw the young man in France, where he literally fell in love with its Gothic structures. Architecture became his dominating interest. Apparently unable to succumb to the business ramifications of his vocation and under the personal influence of Dante G. Rossetti, English poet-painter, William Morris discovered a new promising field in painting. Following the way of all flesh, at the age of twenty-five, he married his beautiful model and established himself in London, with decorative art definitely chosen as a career. Expressing revolt against the spectacular excesses and incalculable rowdyism inherent in the guerilla encroachments of a machine age, the Oxford graduate embarked upon the task of reviving the dying art of ancient artisanship. In 1861-62 he formed a partnership under the name of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Company, interior decorators. Commercial ballyhoo and ill-conceived bankruptcies did not enter the scheme. He found full happiness in the labors of craftsmanship, through the medium of fine furniture, wallpaper, tapestry and exquisite bookmaking; becoming a peer in his trade. The business was a success, with William Morris as sole proprietor by 1875. In 1871 he made a trip through Iceland, imbibing the folklore of that country, later expressing it in his own works. In 1891 he founded the famous

Kelmscott Press. The *Kelmscott Chaucer,* a true masterpiece of workmanship which had taken nearly two years to complete, crowned his labors in 1896, the year of his death.

A summary of the poet's literary career is an epic of description. As a master story-teller, he contributed prose and verse to the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine.* In 1858 he published his "classic of Victorian Poetry," *The Defence of Guenevere.* In the years 1868-70 was published *The Earthly Paradise,* a "wonderful stream of poetic romance." In 1872 appeared his Icelandic sagas; followed, in 1875, by his own version of Virgil's *Aeneid.* The eminence of his poetic talents attracted wide attention and, in the year 1877, he was offered the professorship of poetry at Oxford, an honor which was declined. In 1887 Morris published his own translation of Homer's *Odyssey.* In 1890 there appeared in the *Commonweal,* for the first time in serial form, "a romantic pastoral, picturing the England of a possible remote future"; a realized Utopia at its best. In 1891, this appeared in book form under the now world-renowned title, *News from Nowhere.* Most dramatically, on October 3, 1896, at the age of sixty-two, the poet-craftsman left this world of turmoil for the Great Beyond, managing to complete a romance with the significant title, *The Well at the World's End.* His beloved Kelmscott churchyard received his earthly remains, offering the weary warrior a well-earned rest.

Politically, the artist was too honest a thinker to run away from the realities and responsibilities of life. Exceedingly in love with nature, devoted to the throbbing incantations of liberty, the stultifying degradations of an unethical and unsocial commercialism stirred rebellion within his breast. A sensitive soul cannot enjoy its own fruits, no matter how meritorious, when surrounded by heart-rending scenes caused by social neglect and maladjustment. With custom and laws against him, the thinker took up the struggles of the Forgotten Man, who, creating all, has nothing but the anguish of poverty and insecurity. He soon learned that, for one to be secure and happy, his fellow men must share a like security. This involved a fundamental reconstruction of society, with universal amity and helpfulness replacing parasitic and immoral practices. In spite of his own training and comfortably enviable position, William Morris joined hands with all those ethical-minded citizens who believed in the greater happiness for the greatest of numbers. So we find him, on January 13, 1883, at the mature age of forty-nine joining the British Democratic Federation, having personally designed a special membership card with the motto of LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY conspicuously inscribed above a centered Tree of Knowledge. Not having too much faith in the efficacy of biased diplomacy and narrow partisanship dictated by selfishness, and laying less reliance on the tactics of political sages comfortably housed in the Houses of Parliament, the poet seceded the following year, forming a League of his own, becoming treasurer and editor of the *Commonweal,* its official organ.

In 1885, Morris conducted a vigorous educational campaign combating the inefficiences and backwardness of the toiling Britons; lecturing to workers, contributing to the far-reaching columns of the *Commonweal;* and even had the privilege and honor of being apprehended by the vigilant police, and hauled behind bars from some open-air meetings. Private discussions among small groups of Englishmen were suddenly agitated by the appearance across the seas of Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (see UNITY, issue of February 3, 1936, "A Yankee's Way to Utopia"). The American's conception of an ideal life based on the regimentations of a National Industrial Army prompted his Anglo-Saxon cousin to raise the question as to whether that was the best way to an ideal order claiming ethical and libertarian aspirations. Three years after the appearance of the Yankee's Utopia, William Morris published his own *News from Nowhere,* formulating a plan wherein the flexible concessions of a back-to-nature and back-to-handicraft life in the midst of a flourishing countryside have taken the place of Bellamy's centralization of authority in the economic field. To quote one of his numerous biographers, having dedicated his life to the making of things beautiful as well as useful, William Morris shines to posterity as a splendid example of one devoting "his genius to the bettering of visible things and to the spreading of fine and generous ideals." As a lasting testament to his memory, a twenty-four volume set of his *Collected Works* was completed in 1915, under the devoted editorship of May Morris, his daughter.

*II.—The Poet's "Epoch of Rest."*

As indicated above, William Morris wrote his *News from Nowhere* as a protest against the highly organized and extremely centralized economic base of the Yankee's utopian social pyramid. "If they brigaded *him,"* says May Morris in an Introduction to her father's *Collected Works,* "into a regiment of workers, he would just lie on his back and kick." And to emphasize his unmistakable reaction, she further quotes from a personal letter written by her father to a Scottish friend, where Morris, referring directly to Bellamy says: "Thank you. I wouldn't care to live in such a Cockney paradise as he imagines." The harsh effects of a stereotyped civilization were discarded by the poet for a primitive type of social organization, which is a natural result freely flowing out of the simple pursuits of agriculture and craftsmanship. He believed that when men are given free access to land and the abundant wealth of nature, love of work in most favorable environments creates enough individual and social incentive to guarantee a better life for all.

The Englishman's ideal commonwealth, offering peace and plenty to all, is not a "slot-machine utopia"; nor is it a piece of mere writing for innocent entertainment. Though described as "the most humane and idyllic of utopian romances," the author of *News from Nowhere,* writing at the ripe age of fifty-five, with a heart "sickened with thinking of all the waste of life that has gone on for so many years," set out to construct, step by step, out of a world of strife and oppression, a new life in a manner best understood by a society divided into classes and castes, where the birthrights of man are bartered away for a crust. He found that what men need is not more mechanical progress, not more centralization and regimentation, but a wider field of unhampered opportunity, creating ideal surroundings for work, growth and joy. Poverty in face of great luxury cannot exist without fearful repercussions; while a "life of repose amidst energy, of work which is pleasure and pleasure which is work," is impossible without intelligent will, determination, and democratic planning. Engrossed in counting pennies and thoughtlessly following the wastes of fashion, we forget the purpose and sacredness of human life and

sentiment. "Only slaves and slaveholders," says the poet, "could live solely by setting machines going."

Through the eyes of William Morris, the British Empire in his day was seen as an "old miserable world of wornout pleasures and hopes that were half fears." The life of the average wage-earner he perceived "but the dull jog of the mill-horse under compulsion of collar and whip." To him the issue was clear: "either absolute slavery for all but the privileged, or a system of life founded on equality." How were men to improve their lot?

In justification of the course he undertakes to prescribe, Morris argues: Ours is a civilization of organized misery, running in vicious circles in the field of production, with chronic over-production in face of want, unemployment, and strikes. Even while employed, men labor to produce mostly "sham or artificial necessaries," being driven by a "ravening monster—cheap production for a World-Market." While a few are enriched, technical progress is actually "increasing the burden of labor." The height of folly is reached in the imperialistic dealings with primitive peoples. In face of such organized misery and crime Morris, (perhaps with a copy of the American Declaration of Independence for encouragement in front of him at the time of writing), reaches the conclusion that there are historical periods when each nation must face changes in the construction and function of its social institutions, and that such changes are not only justifiable, but even imperative for the good of the country as a whole. Of course, peaceful changes are most desirable. Most assuredly, the peaceable methods of democratic procedure are the best in a civilized age where science and reason claim leadership. But when persuasion and appeals to justice remain unheeded, when the selfish interests in power suppress and ignore or wilfully misinterpret the just demands of their less privileged fellow men who create their wealth, what is there left to do but to follow the example of a George Washington? Tories will rather see the entire Commonwealth go on the rocks than relinquish the power of strangulation they hold over the nation. Using "patriotism" as a cloak to cover their personal interests, they refuse to abide by law and justice, and do not hesitate to maintain their rule by murder. Here is the reason why it was necessary that a Bloody Sunday be the first step in the poet's scheme of social reconstruction!

Lifting the curtain for the first act of his British drama, William Morris makes 1952 A. D. the crucial year in the life of the Empire. Disrupted industry and agriculture, unemployment, and struggle between those who have and those who have not, demands for free access to natural wealth held out of use by monopolists, set the stage for the preliminaries leading to the New Reformation. Militant industrial unionism replaces the old craft and benevolent associations. A powerful federation speaks in the name of labor. On a picked Sunday, a peaceful demonstration is called by the people to clarify sentiments and demands on the crying needs of the day. Guided by the wishes of owners of great wealth, the Government sends troops to prevent the meeting. Unceremoniously, the soldiers open fire when the people refuse to give up their constitutional rights. "Deep lanes were mowed amidst the thick crowd," describes the author's eye-witness, "the dead and dying covered the ground, and the shrieks and wails and cries of horror filled all the air, till it seemed as if there were nothing else in the world but murder and death." Between one and two thousand of the people are slain in cold blood; while the soldiers, stunned by their own brutality, says the author, "let the butts of their guns fall," refusing to fire again at their own people who gathered to demonstrate peacefully for their human rights.

In the second act, a Committee of Public Safety, directly representing the interests of the people, is organized in the various communities to guarantee social peace and orderly life. Committees organize for production. A net of workmen's associations, to meet all needs of modern life, is catering to the natural demands of the people, replacing, what the author calls, the "profit-grinders." The liberal members of Parliament, seeing that reaction does not voluntarily recognize the just demands of the people, leave in a body and join the People's Front. Practising non-resistance in spite of the many provocations, the workers declare a peaceful general strike, setting up mutual aid societies to supply the immediate wants of the masses. Educational articles, describing in plain language the ways and promises of a more equitable life, appear prominently in the people's press—"a kind of May-day freshness, amidst the worry and terror of the moment." The struggle itself develops from among the people leaders and administrators "far more than equal to the best amongst the reactionaries." After two years of protracted strife, the people's cause is triumphant.

Naturally, it was not an easy task. After the abolition of all squalor, "by slow degrees," says the Briton, "we got pleasure into our work . . . art or work-pleasure sprung up almost spontaneously from a kind of instinct amongst people, no longer driven desperately to painful and terrible overwork, to do the best they could with the work in hand—to make it excellent of its kind; and when that had gone on for a little, a craving for beauty seemed to awaken in men's minds," and creative art began to flourish as a precious heritage of all. With injustice and monopoly completely abolished by universal acclaim, with safety committees from the people guarding social order, and with voluntary federations of producers and consumers administering to the various legitimate needs of the nation, the curtain is ready to rise for the third and final act of this drama, which undertakes to answer the questions: What are some of the features of the ideal society the poet-artisan has painted? What are his ideal men and women? What takes the place of the profit-incentive?

In *News from Nowhere,* William Morris awakes on a fine morning in June to make the happy discovery of a fully developed ideal society upon the banks of the Thames, with a pocketful of oxidized coins, now worthless, to connect him with the old order. To his great delight, he finds that "England's towns of despair" had vanished; so also the tortuous London, with its horribly abused countryside and poverty-stricken humanity. City slums, those "places of torture for innocent men and women," had gone. With all the wholesome air, unlimited space of the countryside and sunshine within everybody's reach and in sight, what truly civilized and moral society would tolerate the curse and shame of slums? In a leisurely way, the guest sets out to observe and to report his discovery.

He finds a great net of free, small communities dotting the British Islands, now literally transformed into an unbounded park of beauty and culture. No more

unsightly factories, smoke-vomiting chimneys, unhygienic, fire-trap dwelling houses, and "vapor-bath of hurried and discontented stewed humanity" crowding surface and subway trains. The entire "shabby London suburb changed by magic to a country heaven!" The people he encounters are all of average humanity, but handsome, healthy, pleasant and friendly, gaily and luxuriously attired, living a busy yet natural and leisurely life, with practical art as an outlet for their many interests. Tranquillity, simplicity, refinement, which naturally evolve from a life of culture and friendship, is the general atmosphere of a reborn England. Predominantly an agricultural country, there is nothing coarse or vulgar about the farmers and artisans the visitor meets at their respective duties. With song, the day's work is done; freely, difficulties are eased by cooperative effort; generously, wealth and happiness are being shared. The people live according to individual taste; mostly in small comfortable homes, of red brick and tile roofs, beautified by stately trees and luxuriant flower-gardens, where "no door is shut to any good-tempered person." For social contact, to brighten and quicken life, some dwell in larger houses —like colleges—where people of like mind and mood, says the visitor, make their homes. While the old England labored under a system which, according to William Morris, "had produced for some few a life of gambler's, and for many, or most, a life of mere misery," the new England has none of that. Freedom and true equality of opportunity make the very possibility of want and oppression unthinkable.

The local Guest House, where the guest is entertained, has an interior of marble mosaic, exquisite panel-work giving "that exhilarating sense of space and freedom which satisfactory architecture always gives to an unanxious man who is in the habit of using his eyes." The sounds of chimes, playing sweet tunes "like the song of the first blackbird in the spring," invite the elegantly dressed people to the general dining hall, where, in the midst of beautiful architecture, with wall pictures depicting sweet scenes of Fairyland and Mythology, they sit to partake of daintily prepared food, served in beautifully-ornamented tableware.

The working women, the guest meets, look half their real age, with lips (the poet confides) as red as natural roses; strong, shapely, handsome, and decently dressed in materials to suit the season and in the manner "of ancient classical costume." They are versed in the Book of Life and love nature-study; and readily announce to any inquiring friends, "I work hard when I like it, because I like it, and think it does me good, and knits up my muscles, and makes me prettier to look at and healthier and happier." The visitor finds that the new woman considers housekeeping a most important and honorable profession, one to be proud of. With no "commercial wedding bed" to haunt her, the mother has no anxieties as to her mate's affections or the future of her children, who are all most desirable and welcome additions. Lovable and beloved, the woman of the poet's utopia is "respected as a child-bearer and rearer of children, desired as a woman, loved as a companion, unanxious for the future of her children, has far more instinct for maternity than the poor drudge and mother of drudges of past days could ever have had, or than of the upper classes brought up in affected ignorance of natural facts, reared in an atmosphere of mingled prudery and prurience." This new type of ideal Womanhood, stresses the poet, is possible only when a civilized society intelligently undertakes the elimination of economic insecurity, fear and struggle.

In the healthy pursuits of hay-making, caressed by beechwood, blooming wheat, fine orchards, caroled by singing blackbirds, twittering warblers and rippling water, freed from the anxieties and maneuverings of a struggle for survival, the new generation of Britishers can well afford to be strong and handsome, prompting a casual guest to a confession that there could be no longer any fear that "the sacredness of human life was likely to suffer from the absence of gallows and prisons." When work is congenial and plentiful, the most difficult labors are a pleasant treat; even a gang of road builders, says the dreamer, can be made to look "much like a boating party at Oxford." In the new scheme of life, men and women find their full self-expression and all-round satisfaction in the adroit manipulations of the needle, the mallet and chisel, the saw, plane, trowel, and even in the arduous tasks in the smithy. Humming bees and singing larks fill in the pastoral symphony of excellence so close to a poet's heart. In the atmosphere of lanes of sycamores, sweet chestnut and majestic oaks tempting the weary; with fine streets flanked by "elegant arcades to protect foot-passengers," the village Mote, or Town Hall, and Theatre are the two most conspicuous structures—outstanding in their magnificence and ornamental design, reflecting "the best qualities of the Gothic of Northern Europe with those of the Saracenic and Byzantine." It thus appears that, after all, the new order, in its first stages, was not so destructive an undertaking as some had prophesied. All that was good of the old was preserved, while only those objectionable features which bred strife and injustice were uprooted.

With self-sustaining, cooperating, small communities replacing the ugly overcrowded cities, the crucial problems of equitable production and distribution of wealth are easily solved, and in the most rational way. Under the old and lingering system the world over, there is a waste of about sixty-five per cent, absorbed by the non-producing classes which rob and underpay the worker-producer on one end of the line and overcharge the ultimate producing masses on the other extreme. In the interests of profiteering, producer and consumer are taxed beyond endurance—forcing the farmer to forsake his fields, while depriving the urban population of the essentials of life. In the artist's ideal state, as William Morris here paints it, the visitor can look into an occasional open shop displaying ware of exquisite workmanship, to be had by him, or any interested neighbor, for the mere asking. The products on show are merely an expression of the creative spirit and superabundance of a happy life; as such, they are gladly shared with any one desiring them. Since everything made is strictly for use and enjoyment, service and beauty are lavishly discharged. And to demonstrate the total extinction of our "commercial morality," the author of *News from Nowhere* makes his hero-traveler receive freely from a thirteen-year-old counter girl in one of the display shops a most precious pipe, elaborately carved, mounted in gold and sprinkled with little gems; plus a gaily embroidered red morocco bag crammed liberally with the best tobacco obtainable. And when the bewildered recipient expresses natural fear of losing such an expensive gift, he is met with the most sensible assurance that even should he chance to lose it, there need be no concern felt on his part,

since "somebody is sure to find it and he will use it, and you can get another one." To conclude the neighborly transaction, on leaving the "store," the caller is offered, freely, of course, a glass of Steinber—a glass of fine wine on a hot June day being thought an ideal drink among those unconventional Britishers. What a contrast when compared with a so-called system where merely to procure an individual paper-cup for a natural drink of plain water one must carry and produce a coin! It is with very great astonishment that the people learn in their books on history that at one time there was such a thing as buying and selling, and employers of labor; while the social "disease of idleness" was beyond their very understanding. "Fancy people not liking to work!" exclaims an old citizen of this new England.

The underlying principle behind the practicability of the entire scheme and its promises for an abiding success is given in *News from Nowhere* in the following sketch: "Nothing *can* be made except for genuine use; therefore no inferior goods are made . . . we have time and resources enough to consider our pleasure in making them. All work which would be irksome to do by hand is done by immensely improved machines; and in all work which it is a pleasure to do by hand machinery is done without . . . all the work that we do is an exercise of the mind and body more or less pleasant to be done; so that instead of avoiding work everybody seeks it." This is a workable procedure, considering that the new-born Englishman does not crave any longer for the building up and the holding by force of an Empire, for vain glory and the enrichment of a privileged small class. There is no more urge for the immoral practices of old, to divide men for exploitation and rule. Instead, full local autonomy and decentralization of authority and functions become the accepted rule; the people concentrating now on the leisurely and artful production for use and distribution of the necessities and reasonable luxuries of a highly cultured life "with as little as possible, [adds the architect of Utopia], of dirt, confusion, and the distressing of quiet people's lives"; meeting human problems reasonably and calmly, refusing to be saddled with nonessentials or waste.

Frequently, in the course of the narration, the reader is reminded of the prime impulse of a rational living, that, with "the bondage of class monopoly" abolished, the British people "flung themselves upon the freed land like a wild beast upon his prey," finding by living the best each is fit for, while enriching the nation by their creative spirit of cooperating neighborliness and adventure. Beholding such a panorama, whose foundation is based on science and organization, both fully humanized, it is but to be expected that a sympathetic student-visitor will readily grasp, without much debate or suspicion, why in place of the Old England of "huge and foul workshops and fouler gambling-dens, surrounded by an ill-kept, poverty-stricken farm, pillaged by the masters of the workshops" themselves living in the ugly cities, there was now, thanks to the applied intelligence of the collective will, a widely spread population living and working in an England transformed into "a garden, where nothing is wasted and nothing is spoilt, with the necessary dwellings, sheds and workshops scattered up and down the country all trim and neat and pretty"; the workers finding joy in the ordinary pursuits of daily life; having "plenty to do, and on the whole enjoying doing it."

In the field of education, the uninspiring and formal curricula of the classroom are now exchanged for stimulating camp life and the study of nature and craftsmanship. In the Britannia of William Morris' design, a child's training for manhood and womanhood takes in early the arts of swimming, cooking, decorative house building, field and shop work; enough to keep muscles, minds and spirits in prime and jovial condition. "You see," he writes, "children are mostly given to imitating their elders, and when they see most people about them engaged in genuinely amusing work, like house building and street paving and gardening, and the like, that is what they want to be doing [and there is] no fear having too many book-learned men." Reading, writing and language study are mastered at play; while penmanship is looked upon as a fine art, ugly scribbling being stubbornly discouraged. Imbibing the finest, without forcing people's tastes, these "liberty loving people" populating the British Islands study closely cause and effect, not encouraging bookishness till an advanced age. There is still learning; but it is a quest for the Art of Knowledge at its finest—a "knowledge cultivated for its own sake." A general portrayal of present-day difficulties and of proper approach is indicated by the very treatment childhood is receiving. Ignoring, in our modern quest for false economy, the individual disposition and special faculties, as well as the all-important element of physical and mental growth, the children of old Britain are (or were!) inoculated, says the reporter from *Nowhere,* with "a niggardly dole of not very accurate information; something to be swallowed by the beginner in the art of living whether he liked it or not, and was hungry for it or not; and which had been chewed and digested over and over again by people who didn't care about it in order to serve it out to other people who didn't care about it. . . . No one, [concludes the author] could come out of such a mill uninjured; and those only would avoid being crushed by it who would have the spirit of rebellion strong in them." The reader, on his part, can check the correctness of the poet's deductions by marking off, in face of our own overcrowded institutions of higher learning, the number of Jeffersons and Washingtons and Paines and Lincolns each generation of men is producing. . . . In contrast, William Morris' ideal approach is a course of education where the students "are no longer hurried, and the information lies ready to each one's hand when his own inclinations impel him to seek it." It is being recognized by the new breed of Englishmen, and society acts on this knowledge, that it is the early training and cultivation of inclinations and habits under a suitable social environment that prepare the ground for a finer manhood and womanhood. To attain his full development, man must have economic security and a culture-inspiring environment and leisure.

Speaking of his own Oxford and old Cambridge, the poet-craftsman refers to them as "the breeding places of a peculiar class of parasites, who called themselves cultivated people." There, "instead of teaching poor men's sons to know something, they taught rich men's sons to know nothing." On the whole, says the Oxford graduate, freeing themselves from "the plague of bookmaking [and] those idiotic old books about political economy," the people still believed in Science and "won't stand any nonsense from Nature in their dealings with her." Says the Englishman, with an eye on our fiction-reading habits: For intelligent people to

"supplement the sordid miseries of their own lives with imaginations of lives of other people . . . in spite of all their cleverness and vigor, and capacity for story-telling, there is something loathsome about them . . . contented to see the hero and heroine living happily in an island of bliss on other people's troubles—sham troubles—illustrated by dreary introspective nonsense . . . while the world must dig and sew and bake and build and carpenter. . . ." There is peculiar flavor in this last statement, considering that the author of it has himself to his credit a twenty-four volume set of collected works of fiction-writing!

Accepting man as he is, a product of a long and tortuous evolutionary process of physical and mental development, William Morris conceded that there must always remain a problem of crime and punishment, even under the most ideal conditions. Unforeseen acts of violence had to be faced at all times. What is his remedy, or course of treatment? The poet's citizens look upon trangression as "errors of friends," and it is treated accordingly. Says the author: Even "love is not a very reasonable thing, and perversity and self-will are commoner than some of our moralists think." Indeed, ignorance, lack of discipline and an irrational unsocial selfishness, we know too well, have brought to ruin many a dream, when attempting to translate it in terms of actual living. Lack of appreciation of a wholesome, independent and natural life, without the sophistries of a false civilization, is the greatest of drawbacks in a life which is full of tempting, false promises that never come true. Egotism and social injustice beget chaos, jealousies and strife, as a result of which there is need to guard society against the uncontrolled passions of individuals forced into this chaos. But in place of brutal force, prison bars and executioners, which harden both victim and jailer, the new order relies upon the understanding and sympathies of the defendant's neighbors. Remorse and temporary isolation, voluntarily imposed upon himself by the victim of passion, are considered sufficient punishment to bring about the desired effect. How can people be happy with "their neighbors shut up in prison?" inquires the native. What hypocrisy on the part of a society and established authority, comments the author, to pretend to be humane, and yet go "on tormenting those whom they dared to treat so by shutting them up in prison, for no reason at all, except that they were what they themselves, the prison masters, had forced them to be."

In view of the fact that the England rebuilt on the craftsman's pattern does not consider Science as a limited and bound "appendage to the commercial system," the very problem of individual crime is approached with the attitude of an unbiased laboratory worker in search of truth and proper solution. A clear knowledge of the possible causes of crime is imperative, before the proper remedy can be evolved.

The second contributing factor that feeds crime is found in "the artificial perversions of the sexual passions" and "family tyranny," adds the poet. Now, under a properly ordered economic and social life, economic needs and human rights, within reason and justice, are fully met. This is accomplished by offering to every one the unhampered opportunity and social encouragement and aid to life, liberty, and a wholesome pursuit of individual happiness which bring out the very noblest there is in man without recourse to brutality and oppression of any kind. The "liberty" to starve, or the "liberty" to offer oneself on the market for a pittance is certainly not conducive to individual perfection, nor to social security and progress. By caring intelligently for the primary wants of the race, the greatest incentives to crime are eradicated; while sex and family relations are properly adjusted and ordered by a high degree of intelligence and individual standard of self-discipline diffusing affection and sympathy. Need it be repeated that beastly struggle and fear must ever breed hatred, while mutual helpfulness can result in nothing but unity, friendship, and a happiness in a greater sense of security embracing the greatest of numbers? "Hot blood," says the Briton, "will err sometimes" and a homicide will happen even under the most ideal conditions; but William Morris further questions, "Will the death of the slayer bring the slain man to life again and cure the unhappiness his loss has caused?" Of course, where a privileged few rule unjustly at the expense of all, "dwelling like an armed band in a hostile country," there is bound to be fear of an ultimate Judgment Day; with the people in uprising, demanding account and taking their due. Those selfish few do need all the force they can gather to shield themselves from the wrath of their own people. But living among friendly neighbors, whom one has not robbed, with security and real equality of opportunity a fact, there is neither fear nor ground for habitual violence, nor need for severe punishments to be inflicted by a police or army force upon an unfortunate transgressor. Furthermore, the author assures us, "in a society of equals you will not find any one to play the part of torturer or jailer, though many to act as nurse or doctor." Briefly, then, their code of penology is based on the precept of Jesus—*Go and sin no more;* and the Utopians consider this a sufficient deterrent and corrective.

In the field of matrimony, with the elimination of the motives dictated by economic necessity and property quarrels, the New Order has found no need for recourse to "such lunatic affairs as divorce courts. . . . Fancy a court for enforcing a contract of passion or sentiment," muses the author. Naturally, concedes the Briton, even under the new system disappointments and difficulties of passion and sentiment are unavoidable in the relation of the sexes. But they "are not so mad," says Morris, "as to pile up degradation on that unhappiness by engaging in sordid squabbles about livelihood and position, and the power of tyranny over the children who have been the results of love or lust." As the visiting observer expresses it in *News from Nowhere,* not being burdened by self-inflicted diseases, they take "the keenest pleasure in all the life of the world," exercising all their faculties "in reasonable strife with nature"; it being a mark of great distinction among them not to be unduly self-centered; love itself ceasing to be either commercial or "artificially foolish." He also finds that the new generation of Englishmen does not spend its life-energies in class struggle, oppression, and mutual extermination. Now, their intelligence is being taxed in the vital and never-ceasing struggle against the "tyranny and fickleness of nature"; and this is done in order to make life more joyous for all. It is well to be reminded again and again that where the passions of the jungle divide and rule mankind, there can be neither peace, nor order; nor happiness and security for the individual, or society as a whole. But a system which offers full freedom to the development of the best in man, basing its own security

upon the indestructible pillar of individual happiness in its unhampered growth—such a society has nothing to fear, less to regret, and can maintain its own against all hazards of possible encroachments.

Of course, organized society cannot exist without order; and Government, as we are taught from childhood, is the agent. It is most interesting then to hear what the author of *News from Nowhere* has to say on how public affairs in the Britain of his own making are executed. Again William Morris paints the unconventional picture of a nation where the people *is* the government (without a capital letter), while the old Parliament has been turned into a farm storage-place. Explaining the workability of this arrangement, the Briton says: Unlike the bad old times, a man no more needs an elaborate system of government, with the army, navy, and police, to force him to give way to the will of the majority of his *equals,* than he wants a similar machinery to make him understand that his head and a stone wall cannot occupy the same place at the same moment. Indeed, recalls the poet, "was not the Parliament on the one side a kind of watch committee sitting to see that the interests of the Upper Classes take no hurt; and on the other side a sort of blind to delude the people into supposing that they had some share in the management of their own affairs. . . . Living under a class system, which proclaimed inequality and poverty as the law of God," with law courts, prisons, police and soldiers to guarantee the status quo, the function of the old British Government could be nothing else but, as Morris says, "to protect the rich against the poor." In other words, he makes it clear that "the government of the old Empire was but the necessary result of the careless, aimless tyranny of the times; it was but the machinery of tyranny." Consequently, England of the craftsman's mental creation replaced the function of such government-by-force with the voluntarily-arrived-at-arrangements of mutually-helpful associations of citizens, whose good will, intelligence and skill disposed in a most mannerly and wholesome way of all problems naturally arising in the normal course of a creative, individual and social life. The parish or ward is set up as the local administrative unit, where pure democracy works out in terms of a well-ordered and happily-balanced life for all.

Far be it from the creator of *News from Nowhere* to convey the erroneous impression that the changes his ideal England presumes to undertake can be wrought by the wave of a magic wand, to be accomplished overnight. In his utopia, William Morris allows at least a century and a half for the instillation of "traditions and habits of life" working "for the best." At any rate, it took that long for Englishmen to learn that it is easy for men "to live without robbing each other," and make a success of it.

Is there, under the new set-up, any interference with personal liberty and rule of democracy as understood by protagonists of republican rule? According to the author, none whatsoever. In matters strictly personal—dress, food, drink, housing, expression of one's latent talents, and conscience—every one is free to follow his own inclination. It is obvious, however, that, in this happy future, as today, one's own liberty must end where the equal liberty of other persons justly begins. It is equally clear that only where the welfare of the community as a whole is fully guaranteed can a similar guarantee be extended to the individual members.

To justify their misrule and abuse, one often hears Tories and monopolists of social wealth declare that things cannot be any other way on account of "human nature" being what it is. In the hands of the unscrupulous, the simplest terms become vague, and even a wooden horse can be made treacherous. So it is not amiss to report what William Morris has to say on the free use of words and terms. He takes it for granted that no earnest and honest student of the subject can escape the conclusion that "human nature" is largely conditioned by environment and social inhibitions inoculated from fetus to death-bed. So when we desire to speak of "man's nature" we must keep in mind, says the English poet, whether we mean the nature "of paupers, of slaves, of slave-holders, or the human nature of wealthy freemen." Which?

The modern reader will ask: With no commercial or profit motive, what is there to prompt the Englishman to initiative and where must he look for his reward? The author answers: Where there is conscious, sensuous pleasure in the work itself, where it is performed by artists unhampered by prejudice and fear, there is an intelligent realization that, in addition to material security, there is also the feeling that "the reward of labor is life itself; the reward is in the pleasure of creation." The reader must not forget that in the England of the craftsman's design, "*all* work is now pleasurable." With pleasure as a reward for exertion, there is further desire that feeds upon the joys of its own gratification, and further impulse for greater fulfilment and satisfaction; and so on, to the limit of human ability and time for enjoyment.

Under the resurrected tyranny of modern dictatorship, there is raised the ethnic problem of a "race" question. In their foul efforts to create greater confusion and to fan the worst passions in man, the dark forces of social reaction have invented a myth of "superiority." It is the old immoral game all over again—by dividing men into warring groups, the black cat of greed and brutal egotism can feed itself best on the sorrows of all. In *News from Nowhere* the author illumines this issue with some wholesome and practical counsel. The foolish and envy-ridden prejudices and fears of nations can be annihilated by the understanding, says the Briton, that "the different strains of blood in the world can be serviceable and pleasant to each other, without in the least wanting to rob each other; [since men] are all bent on the same enterprise, making the most of our lives." Not by dividing humankind with silly or dark and threatening notions, and not by savage persecutions of helpless minorities, but by making closer human ties and by working together in the neighborly fashion for a common good can the safety and happiness of each and all be found. Only thus can peace be maintained and life's glorious adventure made a personal and universal success. Particularly, in local, national and racial, or ethnic, cooperation and all-round equality of opportunity for natural growth and enjoyment, can the finest in each find the fullest expression. In the welfare and service of all, one's latent potentialities are fully manifested.

In the Englishman's haven, even "religion" is given for once a fair trial. William Morris says: "In times past, indeed, men were told to love their kind, to believe in the religion of humanity, and so forth. . . . But—just in the degree that a man had elevation of mind and refinement enough to be able to value this idea, was he repelled by the obvious aspect of individuals comprising the mass which he was to worship."

Necessarily, people in their majority, as products of unjust and prejudiced environments, could not react otherwise and be different. But with the elimination of practices breeding discord and strife and with the opening of wide fields for physical and cultural expansion, "where is the difficulty," queries the author, "in accepting the religion of humanity, when men and women who go to make up humanity are free, happy and energetic at least, and most commonly beautiful of body also, surrounded by beautiful things of their own fashioning and a nature bettered and not worsened by contact with mankind?" It is difficult, indeed, to conceive of a "worsened" Empire when changed into a land of elm-beset meadows, flower-gardens, quaint and pretty houses, whose crimson brick and gables are mirrored in the charming surroundings of the wide blue rivers, banked by tall willows and diffused with the fragrance of lime-tree blossoms; and of people who have learned the noblest of arts, the Art of Living. In love with the healing forces of Nature; respecting life wherever found, there is a thrill of victory in store for mankind once men stop to listen to the voice of Reason, neglected and suppressed through many centuries of pain and trial.

*III—The Dreamer's Philosophy of Life.*

With the eye of a visionary, William Morris looked at the mountains and valleys, at the hillsides and waterways, at the animal kingdom and Man, and saw a single phenomenon to be understood, appreciated, and to be made the most of; for Man, the Rational Being, to work and rejoice with in peaceful accord. Revolting against the heartless unhappy labors of a mechanical life which enslaved mankind through the haphazard and sly manipulations of an unethical minority in authority and power, he allocated a full half of a century of determined struggle and trial for a transition period from the Machine Age to the Epoch of Free Craftsmanship; with "machine after machine . . . quietly dropped under the excuse that the machines could not produce works of art, and that works of art were more and more called for." He believed that in freedom, fellowship, handicraft and imagination, fed by culture, life itself can be accepted "as a pleasure, and the satisfaction of the common needs of mankind and the preparation for them as work for the best of the race." Even railways, thought the poet, can be discarded without material loss, since life and happiness can be planned and derived in a leisurely manner, without neck-breaking speed. The natural elegance of flowery river-banks, hillsides, meadows, graceful trees and singing birds can fully compensate for the loss of artificial book-life. A well-rounded life, free from man-made anxieties, begets eagerness, exertion, appreciation of beauty and offers ample leisure for the propagation of kindness, helpfulness and understanding where those qualities lack full play. Useful labor can be made natural, as well as easy of performance, in beautiful and interesting surroundings. Even workshops, the author tells us, can be surrounded by fine gardens, "marvels of loveliness." He saw no need for people to act "fidgety and quarrelsome"; and the very fields of agriculture can be treated everywhere "as a garden made for the pleasure as well as the livelihood of all." The distressed office, shop, factory and farm hands can be readily changed, as in the book by the nimble hand of the Oxford-craftsman, into sun-browned people "who had cast away riches and attained wealth." The grand wish of our own American forefathers for a life of peace, freedom, equality and justice for all is used by the Britisher as a base for his new social life. Let the reader treat himself with a mental flight where he can perceive on the distant horizon the British Islands inhabited by a people all gaily dressed, cheerfully working at their freely-chosen, stirring tasks; the men of science and letters gladly exchanging duties with the field-workers; all in passionate love with Mother Earth, and looking upon Nature as a most absorbing drama and Man "a part of it all." An England turned into a book, where "the spirit of beauty breathes in every line, [and] a sense of music and of colour is everywhere abundant."—this is the poet's answer to the Yankee's dream of a nation turned into an Army. Then comes reality.

*IV—The Poet's Prosaic Awakening.*

The traveler's return to earth in *News from Nowhere* is as cruel and prosaic as the very life and system the thinker sets out to explore for possible reform. Lying in his bed in the dingy vicinity of London, the dreamer awakes to face a world "still wrapped up in the prejudices, the anxieties, the distrust of this time of doubt and struggle." In place of the New Britannia and a re-born Englishman of physical, intellectual and ethical excellence, the story-teller is met by an old acquaintance of his—a grimed and rugged old man with dull eyes, bent body, thin and spindly legs, dragging and limping feet—bowing with much servility and well resembling the life of an ever-so-familiar status quo. He painfully realizes that the Brotherhood of Man still remains the great inviting Something for the best of us all to dream, pray, work for and, if need be, gladly to sacrifice our petty little selves for the greater good of a happier whole, in whose security one's own salvation lies. Bidding adieu to his reader, the author of *News from Nowhere* leaves this significant message of hope: "There is yet a time of rest in store for the world, when mastery has changed into fellowship—but not before. . . . Go back [counsels the poet] and be the happier for having seen us, for having added a little hope to our struggle. Go on living while you may, striving with whatsoever pain and labor needs must be, to build the new day of fellowship, and rest, and happiness." Thus, the artist's mental brush has given to the world in distress a portrait of a humanized social order—where peace is maintained with honor, liberty is guaranteed without oppression—and of universal happiness where justice may thrive, flowing naturally, under Britain's union jack, from the creative exertions of ethically-minded men, women and children. This goal was made possible of achievement by the collective will intelligently and freely organized to employ social wealth and human skill for the service of each and all. Futile and visionary as such schemes might appear, they must forever remain the guiding, lighted beacons of promise; calling humanity into the fold of one family of friendly nations—away from the practices of the jungle, towards a saner and more promising life.

After all, is this mere fancy, entertainment only; never to forsake the printed page? Well, one never can tell when words take up their mighty wings setting ablaze the world with great doings. "I have not been talking to thin air," says the old man of the Englishman's Dreamland. "Who knows but I may not have been talking to many people . . . which may bear fruit for them. . . . "

# Education and Citizenship*

JESSE H. HOLMES

We are here representing the teachers of the United States of America. Our interests have to do not merely with our own personal welfares; not merely with the order and local efficiency of our separate schools, rather we are dealing with the well-being of the next and future generations, and thereby with the future of democracy, of religion, of industry, of humanity. I would have us magnify our office. Modesty is a beautiful virtue when it has to do with personal claims and demands; it is no less than a vice when it leads to belittling the tasks and services which are rightly ours.

The teaching profession in general includes for each community those best educated, and those by that education most truly dedicated to the highest and best human ends. We should, therefore, have an active, interested and influential part in all affairs of society that have to do with the general welfare. In actual fact this is not the case; on the contrary, the teacher—with some notable exceptions—is one of the last to be called on in public affairs and when called upon shows himself timid, uncertain, unstable. Why is this true? The teaching force of our country is recruited from the best and most intelligent of our young people. They are trained in special schools and colleges for their specific task, and they do well the task assigned; but as effective citizens they take low rank.

It will be observed that in making this statement I am implying again that the place of the teacher in a community should be something more than that of an instructor in the three R's or even in the more varied matters of the modern school curriculum. He is preparing our children for citizenship; his finished product is the good citizen. And the good citizen is the efficient and courageous seeker for the good, the true and the beautiful; for the general welfare; for the more abundant life.

If the means to these ends were fully and clearly established our task would be a simple one. Indeed, we might look to a future robot teacher consisting essentially of the phonograph and radio; the necessary information being in convenient tablet form.

There are many who look upon teaching as of this nature. But unfortunately the values of life are not simple. We know the ends we seek but the way is not so clear. We can be sure that health and strength are essentials. We know that the mechanisms for the transmission of ideas—language, both written and spoken—must be mastered. We have little doubt that the elements of mathematics and science are necessary as well as some slight knowledge of history; and here we must pause. For already we have gone beyond what many would allow, and we have implied much more. The battle of the schools is now going on. There has developed among us a powerful class from whom our school boards are chiefly recruited who would use the public school to prepare our public for contented and unresisting mediocrity. The immense development of machine power—even now potentially a hundred times over our man power—calls increasingly for multitudes of machine valets: laborers not highly skilled but biddable and well-drilled. These must be supplemented by as great or a greater multitude of keepers of books and accounts, of well-regimented clerks, secretaries and accountants. The few supermen necessary to manage this ever-growing mass of common folk can be otherwise provided. The schools should supply the privates and non-commissioned officers in the industrial army. This is the program of the Chambers of Commerce and of the narrow propertied class, supplemented by an ignorant mass of patrioteers generally; especially by that class atrophied by the war and obsessed by a wholly unjustified illusion of greatness.

Over against these degenerate Americans, we, the teachers, must rally those who believe in spirit and in truth that governments exist to maintain equality, life, liberty and opportunity for all and not for a few, and who accept the responsibilities of making changes whenever governments fail in maintaining these rights. For us "equality" means no dead level of likeness but the equal chance of all to develop and make use of all powers which may serve the general good. We want no "dumb inglorious Miltons" stifled by slum surroundings, no potential Edisons broken by factory slave drivers, no brilliant high-strung minds forced into straitjackets of rigid, regimented classes. Our schools shall be made to stimulate originality and initiative; to awaken the pioneer spirit of adventure like that of their forefathers, able and unafraid to create a "more perfect union" in the interest of the common welfare. Not mere memorizers but alert and courageous minds, not imitators of a dead past but creators of a living future—these are to be our finished product! And now what kind of teachers are we to be and how are we to accomplish such being?

The educational and professional training of such teachers should be on a very high level. This is important for two reasons: First, we should discourage the feeling that our profession can be taken up as a temporary matter by anyone having a college or university education. It is a very real weakness for all of us that so many use the place of the teacher as a stepping stone to other and perhaps more profitable labors. The training of teachers should be at least as long and as severe as that for doctors or lawyers. So only can it escape the curse of smattering and superficial knowledge, which does so easily beset us. The science teacher should be a scientist; the history teacher, a historian; the primary teacher, a genuine pedagogue—a child-leader. It need hardly be said that the specialized knowledge of the expert should be and must be supplemented by a wide general knowledge. More than in higher educational institutions, the teacher in secondary schools needs the broad basis of knowing, so that he may give intelligent and interesting answers to the unending barrage of questions that come his way—or should come his way. High professional standards will give the teacher a place of dignity and security which he does not now possess.

Such dignity and security make a second essential if we are to deal fairly with our youth. What a man is, he will teach. An anxious and frightened teacher is no good influence in the plastic age of youth. I repeat that higher teaching standards will serve us well in this matter, but they are not enough. As pioneering thinkers with interested observers of our thinking in every household, we are especially liable to attack and to misunderstanding; for the average human being, our-

*Address of Welcome to American Federation of Teachers, Philadelphia, August 18, 1936.—Editors.

selves and our fellow men, are curious mixtures of man and beast. As man, he would conquer the earth and possess it; as beast he would hide in his own little hole, shut himself in his self-made silk cocoon and let the world go by. So he has always resented and feared the thinker, and tends ever to pretend to himself that his native instincts and acquired habits and impulses are in some mysterious way superior to the ways of informed intelligence. His complex of inferiority drives him; so that he actually has the belief that the fact of having been drafted into the American army some twenty years ago makes him an authority on teaching, or science, or statesmanship, or anything. Other seekers of superiorities not otherwise observable go back to the fifth or sixth generation and seem to think a revolutionary or colonial ancestor insures them real authority as experts in matters far beyond their understanding. This theory has some very real dangers; for at the revolutionary period or earlier each of us had 32, 64, or 128 ancestors, and if one can have such influence, how about the others? Perhaps one of the hundred was on the wrong side in the revolution, was a traitor, a horse thief, or even just a common workman! It might be wise to require a full record of *all* ancestors before admitting such potentially dangerous powers.

Third. Seriously, we teachers, if we are to be really teachers, must have freedom of teaching and freedom of citizenship, and both are denied us. The teacher himself is the only fair judge of teaching, whether as to matter or as to method. The school board has to do with the business of the school and usually consists of business men, when it is not invaded by politicians who would rise by putting the schools under their feet. Questions of teaching are teacher-questions. Efficiency or inefficiency of teachers should be determined by teachers. Can you imagine an organization of business men pronouncing on the methods and medicines of doctors, or the professional matters of lawyers, or of the miner, or steel-worker, or engineer? If school boards are to deal with educational subjects, a large proportion of such boards should be chosen from the teaching force; and these members should pronounce on distinctly educational matters.

But it is freedom of citizenship which is our most serious matter, intimately entangled with freedom in teaching, because with our present educational and political set-up interference with the latter is pretended when interference with the former is intended.

It should be stated here that there is no more reason that a teacher should conceal his politics, or his religion, or his social opinions from the children or from the public than that the parent should conceal his corresponding opinions. No teacher who amounts to anything attempts to pose before his pupils as infallible; and if he does they have many correctives. Opinions on controversial subjects mean little to children below the High School, but it will do them no harm to get the vocabulary. Such opinions are and should be the most important part of the teaching in and above the High School. There are no "opinions" about geometry and algebra, and very few in the elements of physics and chemistry. Orderly and commonplace reasoning is absorbed in such studies, and is of primary value. But opinions and the basis of them in biology, in sociology, in economics and politics are the very substance of the creative life of the mind. Of course the student must be taught all sorts of opinions and must learn to weigh and consider; of course he must hold one and then another tentatively and recognize that opinions are partial, personal and liable to change. Of course he must learn that he has not been chosen out of the two billion human inhabitants of the earth to be exactly right about anything. But that is also true of his parents, his teachers, the school board, the minister and even of the politicians. The danger of our youth is not in meeting controversial subjects but in having the fact concealed that they are controversial.

Finally, it is not enough in the present crisis to have teachers' organizations for professional questions. The teachers must align themselves with other and larger groups in the struggle for democracy as against oligarchy which has come upon us so gradually that, now as we see it, large and threatening, it seems to have come suddenly. Shall we line up with man or with the would-be superman? Shall we be citizens or parasitic hangers-on to an owning class? Can anyone hesitate? Our interests and our honor as conservators of the values of civilization are tied up with people not with patricians. One cannot but deplore the stupidity of those who stand on the alleged dignity of professionalism rather than on the primal dignity of manhood. The legal profession in general has become parasitic, with the task of making and interpreting law in the interest of property; the medical profession is at the cross-roads; shall they be a narrow alliance dispensing health at a price and for profit, or shall they be the conservators of the general well-being of mankind? We hail the band of leaders among them who see the greatness of the latter service and the pettiness of the former; we urge the rank and file, now indifferent, to wake up and give them backing. We offer the hand of fellowship to the newsmen who hold to their manhood as against a prostituted press and rejoice that there is still a remnant of a free press to back them. We welcome the movement among ministers and church workers toward manhood as against money power—And we, the teachers of the American Federation of Teachers, know that we belong with the workers not with the exploiters. We eat and drink and wear their products; we teach their children. They give us unstinted loyalty and backing in our difficulties and we will give them ours, in return, as free men and women who know that they have the future of mankind on their shoulders. We have seen them stand up manfully to the job of recovery in the crisis not yet past, and we have seen the owning class shrivel and fail. We see the workers still standing to their tasks with grim courage and resolution, and we hear the shrill scoldings of the owners demanding the products of their labors. We cast our lot with labor!

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> "I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education."
>
> —*Thomas Jefferson.*

# The Presidential Candidates and Peace

PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN

The months before election are open season for delegations to candidates. Public men who ordinarily find little time for idealists, doctrinaires, fanatics or crackpots, open their doors and their ears to them in this period. Behind the cynicism, the "anything for a vote" attitude which prompts this temporary change lies a fact which testifies to the vitality of democracy. Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin do not listen to representatives of the opposition. If they cannot silence them by intimidation, they chop off their heads. It is precisely because on election day every American still is equal, still may vote not only for a Democrat or a Republican, but also for a Socialist or a Communist or the crack-brained puppet of a Fascist, that candidates do listen to *vox populi* however shrill or raucous that voice may be.

These reflections were evoked by recent visits to President Roosevelt and Governor Landon. I was an articulate member of the delegation from the People's Mandate to End War, headed by Mabel Vernon, that indefatigable battler for righteous causes. We called on the President at his mother's home in Hyde Park on Sunday, August 23d. Mrs. Roosevelt and the President are such gracious and disarming hosts that it is almost impossible to disagree with them in their presence. He seems in the best of health, unhurried and unworried, almost boyish in his eagerness, tremendously enthusiastic in his reception of new ideas. I thought of this when I recalled how, the day after his deeply moving Chautauqua speech against war, he showed the same excitement concerning a new anti-aircraft gun that was displayed on the lawn of his home. This is not what is ordinarily called insincerity. The President seems to have that kind of mind which is always open to new impressions and reacts quickly to them. I have noticed that his acts seem to follow a fairly firm, well-determined course, despite the volatility of his quick, impressionable mind.

After thanking the President for the privilege of the interview and reminding him of the strength of the peace sentiment in this country, we praised him for such of his policies as were making for peace. We commended his "good neighbor" policy in the Americas, the partial elimination of "dollar diplomacy," the neutrality legislation, and the reciprocal trade agreements which, through relieving economic tensions, are instruments of peace. We felt, however, that we would be wasting a precious opportunity if we did not express frankly our opposition to his military program. I said to him: "We are profoundly disturbed over the vast appropriations for armaments during your administration. We know that your intentions are pacific and that these armaments are not intended for purposes of aggression, but all history proves that such an armament race as we now are engaged in and leading can have but one outcome—war. These tremendous appropriations for armaments are engendering a spirit of militarism. They bode evil for the future of a peaceful America. We plead with you, Mr. President, in the names of our children and our youth, in the name of religion, in the name of America and humanity, to help this country take the lead in an international disarmament race and thereby extend the good-neighbor policy to the entire world."

The President listened attentively, and probably patiently, to everything we said, not once attempting to interrupt or hurry us. He replied at length, determined, it seemed, to convince us of his peaceful intentions. He pointed to his successful record of promoting friendly relations in the Americas. He reminded us of his fervent plea to the nations to renounce aggression. He reaffirmed his faith that ninety-five per cent of the world's population want peace, and therefore encouraged the People's Mandate Committee to spread its peace propaganda as widely as possible. He insisted that his attempts to improve trade relations with other countries was designed to promote peace.

President Roosevelt did succeed in convincing us that he is a man of peace, that unlike his late namesake he is no saber-rattling chauvinist, and that he possesses an enlightened international outlook. And yet he gave no answer to our protest against his armament policy, except to imply that "national defense" required it. I think the peace workers had better make up their minds that, so long as Franklin D. Roosevelt is President, the United States will continue and expand its program of heavy armaments, and that it will probably retain its position of leadership in expenditures for this purpose. It is perfectly astonishing how the peace forces which formerly fought vigorously even the most modest increases in armaments have permitted the nation to embark on an unprecedented program of militarism without any effective protest. Perhaps, however, it is not so astonishing in light of the troubled times we live in, and also in light of the President's social program which has so strongly appealed to the liberals that they have been disarmed from attacking him on the issue of arms. Whatever be the reason, the fact is that the militarists now have everything their own way and the President is responsible.

It is difficult to determine whether our visit to Hyde Park accomplished any good. We were interested to read two days after we had challenged him to assume world leadership for peace that he had suggested through the press his readiness, if re-elected, to summon the rulers of the great nations to a peace conference to prevent war. Ideas that seem utterly fantastic to others do fire the imagination of the President, and sometimes he translates them into reality. Who knows?

As to the mandates we presented, generally speaking, I have little faith in the value of such petitions except for propaganda purposes. Thousands of similar petitions are accumulating dust in the office files of most capitols, as well as in the League headquarters in Geneva. They are too general and too lacking in actual or implied force to be effective. I think that if the peace groups could get together and threaten political action—that is threaten to mobilize the votes of the peace-minded against the President—they might be able to get some concessions from him.

The chief difficulty in doing this lies with the Republican platform. It is the most completely isolationist that any party has adopted since the war. Compared with it, the President's record seems that of a most enlightened statesman and peace lover. Whether Governor Landon is more enlightened than his platform, it is now impossible to say. Thus far he has refrained from repudiating it or going beyond it.

We spoke with Governor Landon in Buffalo, on August 25th, the day after his remarkable address at

Chautauqua. In fact, we made his plea for the preservation of democratic institutions the keynote of our message to him. "What hope is there," I asked, "for preserving democracy and freedom in a war-ridden world? We see how the last war substituted tyranny for democracy, and repression for freedom in many nations of the earth. We see how, through the dislocation of the world's economy and the intensification of economic nationalism which prevented the free flow of commerce, it produced world-wide economic collapse which left no nation free from the threat of dictatorship. We see how it left a world bitter with hates and fears, heavy-laden with the burdens of debt and armament, in which democratic institutions can survive only with the greatest difficulty.

"Governor Landon, not you nor the President of the United States, nor anybody in the world can guarantee to the American people enduring freedom and democracy unless they can also assure an enduring peace. And that is why we are here today. We represent the largest constituency in the United States, the peace lovers of this country, the men and women and children who, because they know war is the enemy of everything they cherish, are prepared to follow the leadership of peace.

"In the name of our children and our youth, in the name of religion and the noblest patriotism, in the name of the very freedom and democracy for which you spoke so eloquently last night, we appeal to you to give your strength to the forces of peace. Make clear to the American people that you have greater faith in international friendships than in battleships to preserve the peace. Let us understand that you believe large armaments breed war, not peace, and that economic isolation brings poverty, not prosperity. Tell us that although you would not involve us in every European quarrel, you would also, if elected, cooperate in every international effort making for world peace and prosperity.

"We realize this would lead you beyond the platform of your party. But we have faith that your humanity, your courage, and your independence will move you to transcend the platform in the interests of peace and democracy. You will remember that under a Republican administration Charles Evans Hughes, then Secretary of State, fired the imagination and won the gratitude of the entire world by initiating a conference to reduce armaments and to promote peace. Now, as then, the leader who is brave for peace will have the love and the support of the people of America."

To this challenge Governor Landon responded by agreeing with us that war is the greatest threat to democracy and freedom, and by assuring us that if elected he would do everything in his power to keep this country out of war. He encouraged the People's Mandate Committee to expand its activities of peace propaganda. And that was all—except for the reaffirmation of his faith in free institutions, which convinced me that despite his reactionary following he personally is a liberal. I am also convinced that he is shrewder than the publicity about him would indicate and that he is deliberately playing up the "plain-man-of-the-people" role for vote-getting purposes. I must confess to liking him as a human being, despite my original prejudice against him. He struck me as liberal, sincere and sane. There is no way of knowing whether, if elected, he would follow an enlightened international policy—but his midwest provincialism, his reactionary following (imagine the DuPonts or Hearst favoring a real peace program) and his party's platform are against him.

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# The Study Table

### Heroes of Peace

VICTORIES OF PEACE. *By D. M. Gill and A. M. Pullen. New York: Friendship Press. $1.00. (cloth); 50 cents (paper).*

The soldier is not the only brave man. The battle of arms is not the only battle. "Peace hath her victories," says the poet—and the authors of this little book tell us the stories of some of these victories which have saved and not destroyed life.

The first tale is that of Henri Dunant and his heroic labors at the battle of Solferino in nursing the wounded and burying the dead of that sanguinary field, which led five years later to the founding of the international Red Cross. Then comes the touching narrative of the Finnish boy, Trygve Boldt, who died in the friendly service of "Reds" and "Whites" in the dreadful days following the Russian Revolution. The most moving chapter is that which tells the story of the Englishwoman, Emily Hobhouse, and of her labors even unto death for the Boer victims of the concentration camps in the South African War. This is followed by the story of the Service Civil Volontaire Internationale, that gallant little group of pacifists, men and women, who in 1920 abandoned everything, like the Franciscans of old, and went forth into the war-stricken areas of Europe to rebuild the lives and the homes of men. Other chapters tell of Samuel Stokes, the English missionary, who became the St. Francis of India; of Dr. Clifford M. Stubbs, the medical missionary in China, who died a martyr to his ideal of brotherhood; of the Quaker relief units in Russia, in the days of the great famine. They are all wonderful—but none of them quite so wonderful as the adventure of Ned Richards, the American Quaker, who in 1917 went out unarmed to the most dangerous place he could find in the world, northern Persia, and there proved the perfect efficacy of non-resistance as a program of action in the moment of deadly danger.

The plan of this book is admirable. Each incident, given a separate chapter with a dramatic title, is told as a story, or narrative. Then, in the "notes" at the end of the volume, are given the exact historic facts, with literary sources, etc. The volume can be read with immense excitement by children, and can be used to serious ends by scholars. It is an indispensable book for the pacifist—a text-book and scripture of his faith!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

# Correspondence

### Welcome Praise

Editor of UNITY:

"The Living and Dying of Charlotte Perkins Gilman," by George E. O'Dell, in your issue of August 3, 1936, seems to me an exceptionally good piece of work, and I would like to thank the writer, and the editor, for it. Also there is a lot of good editorial stuff in that issue, as oftentimes when we say nothing about it. Your comment on Dr. Cadman's death was one of the best things I have seen as to that event and the man. I am heartily rejoiced that your subscription list is growing. The Townsend Plan, if workable, might help some I know to subscribe. Selah!

ROBERT WHITAKER.

*Los Gatos, California.*

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### Earl Browder and Pope Pius XI

Editor of UNITY:

So many "religious" people are disturbed by loud cries against Communists that it will relieve their minds to read the following paragraph from one of the most influential religious weeklies in the United States, the *Christian Century,* in the issue of August 12. It is in an article written by E. Boyd Barrett, a well-known Catholic in New York City. We quote Mr. Barrett verbatim, but place his words in parallel columns. He writes:

There is not a tremendous amount of difference between the Catholic social program as outlined by Pius XI and the moderate Communist program as outlined by Earl Browder. Indeed, were one to compare and contrast the famous Browder broadcast with the even more famous encyclical of his Holiness, one should find something as follows:

| Earl Browder | Pope Pius XI |
|---|---|
| "The present socio-economic order is chaotic." | "The whole economic life has become hard, cruel, and relentless in a ghastly degree." |
| "Succeeding governments have made a mess of things." | "The intermingling and scandalous confusion of duties and offices of civil authorities and of economics has created crying evils." |
| "There is appalling maldistribution of wealth." | "The immense number of propertyless wage earners on the one hand and the superabundant riches of the fortunate few on the other is an unanswerable argument that earthly riches are far from being rightly distributed and equitably shared." |
| "Capitalists are tyrants." | "Not only is wealth accumulated but immense power and despotic domination are concentrated in the hands of the few." |
| "There should be state ownership of important resources." | "Certain forms of property must be reserved to the states since they carry with them an opportunity of domination too great to be left to private individuals." |
| "The rich must be soaked and the poor provided for." | "Every effort must be made that at least in future a just share only of the fruits of production be permitted to accumulate in the hands of the wealthy and that an ample sufficiency be supplied to the working men." |
| "The state must make incursions into private wealth according as public need demands it." | "Civil authority has the right to adjust ownership to meet the needs of the public good." |

Mr. Barrett continues:

With the exception of the plank that calls for the overthrow by force of existing government, which is not advocated by responsible Communists, there is little of moment that the official spokesman of the American Communist Party called for that orthodox Catholic doctrine can find fault with.

Comment: Mr. Barrett's analysis and survey constitute almost a basis for a "United Front" between Communist and Catholic!

SYDNEY STRONG.

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### Mary Baker Eddy

Editor of UNITY:

In view of the acknowledged editorial policy of your magazine, I am confident that you will welcome a statement regarding references to Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, in an article entitled, "The Living and Dying of Charlotte Perkins Gilman," on page 206 of UNITY, August 3, 1936.

In this article the writer states that Mrs. Eddy "set up a woman—herself—as the only one other than the Almighty to pontificate on Sundays in her church."

Let us examine the facts. . . . As the result of her study and practice she stated the proved and provable rules of Christian Science in her textbook, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures.* These rules are based on the word and work of Christ Jesus and of prophets and apostles, are entirely in confirmation of the Bible, and in acknowledgment of the fact that God is the power in the healing work.

Mrs. Eddy writes in *Miscellaneous Writings* (p. 313), "Humbly, and, as I believe, divinely directed, I hereby ordain the Bible, and *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* to be hereafter the only pastor of The Church of Christ, Scientist, throughout our land and in other lands." Her whole purpose in doing this was to present Christian Science in all its purity and clarity, and to prevent her discovery, which she and others had proved to be the truth, from becoming beclouded by varying human opinions. She took this action as the result of experience and divine guidance.

* * *

Anyone familiar with the Christian Science textbook can readily ascertain that God is exalted on every page and not Mary Baker Eddy. The first tenet of Christian Science is given as follows by Mrs. Eddy in *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*: "As adherents of Truth we take the inspired Word of the Bible as our sufficient guide to eternal life." (P. 497.)

It is Christ, Truth, therefore, who presides at all Christian Science services, the Truth which enlightens, inspires, blesses, heals and makes men free.

HAROLD MOLTER.

*Christian Science Committee*
*on Publication for Illinois.*
*Chicago, Illinois.*

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"William Morris never ceased to be a pilgrim of hope. Nor did the sorrow, the bitterness, or the solitude of the battle dismay or lessen the courage, the grim resolve with which, like his beloved Northmen, he fought the battle to the end. When the world is awakened at last, men shall remember

'Of thy love and thy deeds and thy valour,
And thy hope that nought could quell.'"

—*Stopford A. Brooke.*

## The Field

(*Continued from page* 62)

Each of our National Councils should take early action in this matter.

Lastly, we venture, associating ourselves directly with the request, to ask that prayer be made to the God and Father of us all that He would kindle in us, and in all men, the spirit of true repentance for evil done, and a steadfast will to seek in mutual service the well-being of mankind.

*World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches.*

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### The Obligations of American Patriotism Today

The fact that some of the Legionnaires in Rhode Island publicly attacked Kenneth Dale (Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. in Pawtucket), who was asked to speak on World Peace recently at a church assembly, showed that they had no conception of American patriotism in its original form; and how insidiously certain foreign propaganda is worming its way even among our ex-soldiers! Haven't they had enough of war that they want the boys of this generation to get a dose of it?

Many of our ex-soldiers are reared by parents who have mainly the traditional European distrust regarding international relations. They accept the say-so of anybody who is smart enough to fool them, instead of going to authoritative sources for facts. Yet, some of them are proposing to address our school children—which God forbid! Plainly, the object of that plan is pure and simple propaganda—military or subversive of true Americanism.

The best training in real Americanism, in school and college, comes through reading and memorizing speeches and writings of great Americans — Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, Lincoln. These men gave expression to patriotism that is noble and inclusive—not the "100% American" jingoism which often masquerades as patriotism!

The study of public speaking is most important, especially for those who intend to speak on matters of government and state. A thorough preliminary study of the ideas which are behind the speeches of some of our great American patriots would help to develop true statesmanship, not mere political glibness intended to disguise loose statements. Then would mere propaganda lose its power.

What can we do about the situation as individuals? We can easily learn what organizations, doing the work we want done, are already functioning, and support them wholeheartedly with our efforts and our money. We must bestir ourselves; for the undermining influences are busy and have almost unstinted financial backing from the munitions, oil, iron and other interests which profit from war. There are several organizations doing outstanding work to uphold the highest American ideals:

Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom, with headquarters in Washington, D. C., 1924 Chestnut Street.

National Peace Conference.

Friends' Peace Commission, 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Penn.

National Council for the Prevention of War.

(*Continued on page* 80)

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John Haynes Holmes
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## The Field

(*Continued from page* 79)

Civil Liberties Union.
League Against War and Fascism. Address Mr. Irwin Tobin, Room 750, Hotel Narragansett, Providence, R. I.
League of Nations Association, 8 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.
Foreign Policy Information Service, 78 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.
Affiliation of Groups—Youth Movement, Schools, Churches (for information regarding foreign affairs and the more radical political parties).

Watch the Hearst-controlled newspapers and magazines, the newsreels and radio broadcasts. Much of it is brazen propaganda. The bogey of Communism is used to frighten people into accepting much worse!

We should in some practical way strengthen the League of Nations immediately. At present we are free and can do it. The League of Nations only needs our help to become effective. It is the only way to prevent the spread of war and so "keep out of it ourselves." Were we to join the League of Nations, reduction of arms might be brought about with safety. We repeat: the League needs our membership to become effective. When the Neutrality Act is outdated, what then?

Massachusetts has a system of official balloting on public policy: "In any Representative District in the States of Massachusetts, 200 voters may place on the official ballot a question of public policy. The question is framed as an instruction to a representative in the State Legislature (called the General Court) and the vote affords an accurate index of what the voters think."* In the Fall of 1934, Massachusetts voted 62% for the League! Other states should follow this system. We could then arrive at a real estimate of public opinion which, at present, has no official way of being expressed.

An example of sources of reactionary militaristic propaganda is a pamphlet issued from reactionary headquarters which, among other misstatements, vilifies the efforts for peace by the Women's International League, trying to tie up their activities with Russian Communistic propaganda! This sort of thing shows from where "100% Americanism" hails. To quote from the pamphlet: "Each copy is numbered, and the right is reserved to decline any particular order. Applications for copies should be forwarded on a printed letter-head, or other identifying information supplied." This pamphlet contains a "black-list" of persons whose work they condemn. Jane Addams' name heads the list.

"Literature" of this kind is the basis for the policy of trying to influence the Legion and other organizations easily propagandized, because many of their members belong to the unthinking type who do not know, and do not usually try to get at facts. However, their sophistry need deceive no one who does know the facts and so can see through it.

Our forefathers worked and suffered to make this a free country. We must do our best to keep it so.

MRS. SIDNEY A. SHERMAN.
*Lincoln, Rhode Island.*

*From the pamphlet by Margaret Peabody, as reprinted in an article in the *New York Times*, Nov. 25, 1934 ("Do the American People Want the United States to Join the League of Nations?")

## Behind the Spanish Revolt

The observer in Spain today is impressed with the fact that the familiar label of Communist on the government side and Fascist on that of the insurgents is not a wholly accurate description of the alignment of forces. The Madrid government, with its all-Republic cabinet, is nominally in complete control; but it is influenced powerfully by the organizations of the Popular Front which swept it into power in the February election. These consist of the Republican, Socialist and Communist parties and the powerful Socialist General Union of Workers, in cooperation with the Marxist United Workers Party (Trotskyite), and the anarchist organizations, Iberian Anarchist Federation and National Workers Federation, especially strong in Catalonia. In the rebel camp, the admittedly Fascist groups, Gil Robles' Catholic Action and the Spanish Renovation parties, fight side by side with various reactionary elements — Monarchists, Carlists, land barons, nobility, clergy, and financiers.

In Catalonia, only, the trade unions and Left political organizations play a dominant role in the shape of an anti-Fascist militia—a military committee on which are represented all organizations of the Popular Front. This is largely the result of the incompetence of the Catalonian government. For weeks before the outbreak of the revolt, the workers' political and labor organizations had warned the government of the imminence of a Fascist uprising by high army officers. They charged that this clique aimed to seize control of the country and install Jose Calvo Sotelo, Monarchist leader of the Fascist Spanish Renovation party, as dictator of Spain. In Barcelona, as in Madrid, working-class organizations of the Popular Front pleaded for arms to defend the Republic against the revolt which they were certain would come no later than August or September. The government, however, refused to heed their warnings.

When the revolt broke out on July 18 the workers were practically without arms. They went into the streets barehanded and it was not until they had seized several munition depots that they were able to suppress the outbreak. Fighting continued furiously in the streets and plazas of the city for two days, when the rebels were disarmed and order was rapidly restored in the whole of Catalonia. This contrasted with the situation in Madrid, where arms were distributed to members of the Popular Front groups and the CNT on Saturday, July 18, when the news was received of the premature revolt in Morocco.

The assassination of Sotelo six days before the uprising removed the central figure of the plot, and was doubtless an important factor in destroying the precision necessary to its success.

Only after seeing the wretched poverty of the working classes and peasants can one appreciate the reasons for the cruelty and bitterness of this struggle and the stubborn determination to overthrow the feudalism which chains the country to the sixteenth century. In a nation preponderantly agricultural 3,000,000 landless agricultural workers earn from 14 to 60 cents a day; 67 per cent of the land is owned by 2 per of the land-owners. In recent years hundreds of factory strikes and property seizures have occurred as unrest grew and social relief did not materialize. Though the demands for better conditions were voiced in the elections of 1931 and 1935, Azana has been cautious in the matter of reforms. Even the Popular Front program which swept him and his Republican cabinet into power in February has existed largely on paper. Not until the present crisis have they adopted the long-promised reforms to strengthen the morale of the civilian population.

MARGUERITE ANN STEWART.
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